

he teaches, is its own master. Thus international law is no real contract, and no state is legally or morally bound by it. Grave differences can only be settled by-war, which is neither good nor evil but natural. Indeed it has its uses as a national scavenger and in emphasizing the unimportance of material things. In deciding on war the state must consider its own interest and nothing else.

A very similar attitude meets us in Treitschke's celebrated lectures on political science, which he delivered to crowded audiences in Heidelberg and Berlin. In his chapter on the state in relation to the Moral Law he admits that the coming of Christianity created a difficulty, unknown to the ancients, for professing Christians. Yet in his case at any rate the burden is lightly borne. It is the abiding merit of Machiavelli, he declares, to have set the state on its own feet, freed it from the moral sway of the Church, and above all declared for the first time that the state was power. He misses in his teaching a demonstration of the necessity that the ruler must justify himself after capturing power by his exertions for the highest moral welfare of the human race; and he deplores his infatuation for Caesar Borgia, a man who had nothing to show for his virtuosity in crime. "The maintenance of its power," writes Treitschke, "is a task of incomparable grandeur for the state; but lest it should contradict its own nature its aims must be moral. Every moral judgment of the historian must be based on the hypothesis of the state as power, constrained to maintain itself within and without; and man's highest destiny is co-operation in this duty." The goal is clear enough, though differences are possible as to the means which may be employed. The message of the famous historian is the moral and spiritual grandeur of large and powerful states. Little

states are out of date, for they cannot defend themselves. The state stands high above the individuals who compose it, and it exists in order to realize ideals far above individual happiness. It can only fulfil its function if it is strong. It need not inquire if its actions are approved or disapproved by its subjects, for it is the guardian of the national tradition and a trustee for unborn generations.

The state, continues Treitschke, owes no allegiance to any external authority. International law is a mere phrase, and no tribunal can arbitrate between sovereign communities.

Treaties are a voluntary self-limitation, and no state can hamper its freedom of action by obligations to another. It must ever